

Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943-5138



SUMMARY OF RESEARCH 1995

**Department of National
Security Affairs**

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Prepared for: Naval Postgraduate School
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Monterey, California

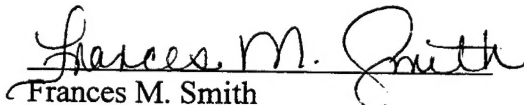
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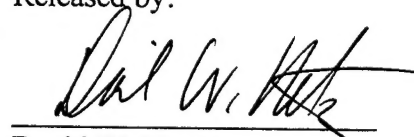
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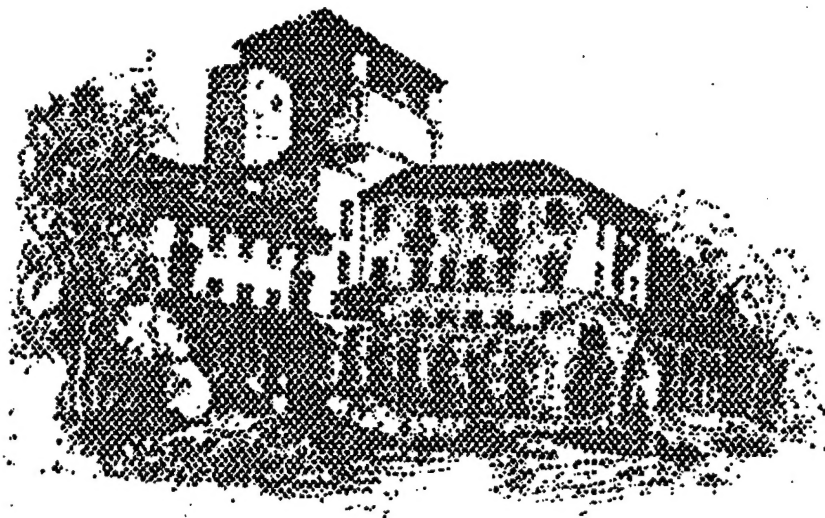
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13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words.) This report contains 12 summaries of research projects in the Department of National Security Affairs which were carried out under funding of the Naval Postgraduate School Research Program. A list of recent publications is also included which consists of conference presentations and publications, books, contributions to books, published journal papers, and technical reports.				
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*Department
of
National Security
Affairs*

THE NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MISSION

The mission of the Naval Postgraduate School is to provide advanced professional studies at the graduate level for military officers and defense officials from all services and other nations. The School's focus is to increase the combat effectiveness of the armed forces of the United States by providing quality education which supports the unique needs of the defense establishment.



Introduction

Research is an integral part of graduate education. At the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), the goals of research are to:

- Provide a meaningful, high quality, capstone learning experience for our students.
- Keep faculty on the leading edge of advances in defense-related science, technology, management and policy to ensure that the latest information is incorporated into NPS courses and curricula.
- Apply faculty and student knowledge to enhance Navy/DoD operational effectiveness.

Pursuit of these goals increases the technical and managerial capability of the officer corps to keep pace with an increasingly complex defense posture in today's world.

The overall research program at NPS has two funded components:

- The Direct Funded Research (DFR) Program provides internal funding from the School's operating budget to stimulate innovative research ideas of benefit to the DoN and may be used for cost-sharing with reimbursable research efforts. This funding ensures, in particular, that all Navy-sponsored NPS curricula are equitably supported, that new faculty are provided an opportunity to establish a research program of importance to DoN/DoD and other national security interests, and that faculty and students from across the campus are encouraged to interact with one another.
- The Reimbursable Research (RR) Program includes those projects externally funded on the basis of proposals submitted to outside sponsors by the School's faculty. These funds allow the faculty to interact closely with RDT&E program managers and high-level policy makers throughout the Navy, DoD, and other government agencies as well as with the private sector in defense-related technologies. This ensures that NPS research remains highly regarded by academic peers and government officials and fosters a closer relationship between NPS and other outside organizations.

The two research programs are complementary and ensure that the overall research program is flexible, responsive, balanced and supportive of the unique needs of the military.

All research projects, both reimbursable and direct funded, support the School's research mission:

- To develop an overall research investment strategy that ensures a high quality, creative learning experience for NPS graduate students.
- To encourage faculty and student pursuit of new discoveries and applications which enhance the long term effectiveness of the armed forces.
- To stimulate interactions between NPS faculty and a wide variety of potential research sponsors (Government, Universities, Private Industry).
- To publicize (both internally and externally) significant achievements of the NPS research program and market NPS research capabilities.
- To foster synergy and force multiplication with Navy/DoD commands and laboratories to increase the potential for successful research and development programs

The Department of National Security Affairs offers tailored, interdisciplinary and intensive graduate-level education in strategic planning, area studies, joint intelligence, special operations and low intensity conflict, resource planning and management for international defense and civil-military relations and international security. The NPS Joint Education Electives Program (JEEP), taught primarily by the National Security Affairs Department, has been certified by the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff as meeting intermediate-level Phase I Program for Joint Education (PJE) requirements. Student thesis research is supervised by faculty actively engaged in research on similar policy relevant issues. The students enrolled in the programs come from the four services, civilian agencies, and twenty foreign countries.

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The research conducted by the faculty in the Department of National Security Affairs expanded in scope and depth during the 1995 Academic year. More senior faculty were joined by new faculty who were recruited to broaden the teaching and research interests sponsored by the Department. These included in particular areas of Southeast Asian Area Studies, Regional Security Policy, and Intelligence Studies. Most of the faculty spent much time outside of Monterey conducting research. These included short trips to Washington DC, Norfolk VA, Honolulu HI, capital cities in Asia, the Middle East, and Europe.

The research themes pursued by the faculty include the following:

(1) National and Regional Security and Defense Policies including virtually all of Europe, East and West, Russia and Ukraine; Latin America; the Middle East; South, East and South East Asia. The research in these areas deals with such topics as civil/military relations, foreign relations between and among groups of states, the role of regional organizations such as NATO and the UN, and bilateral relations with the United States.

(2) The general topics of revolutions, low intensity conflict, and special operations. While dealing with the overall theme of political violence and insurrections, and covering much of the world, the strongest focus has been on different cases in Latin America.

(3) U.S. Defense Policy, particularly regarding the role of different national institutions including the Executive and Legislative branches and the different services.

(4) The overall theme of intelligence, and how it is becoming increasingly joint. Here the emphasis is primarily on the emerging themes of intelligence and the new or changing structures whereby the United States obtains and processes information.

(5) U.S. Naval Strategy, and particularly the implications for the Navy of the new doctrine in "From the Sea." The focus on new naval strategy holds implications for the relationships with other services and allied services.

(6) The economics of U.S. and other countries' defense strategies. Here the emphasis is on the costs of defense, the economic implications of defense, and such themes as "economic warfare."

(7) Certain "hot" topics of tremendous importance including counter-proliferation, cyberwar, peacekeeping, deterrence, and arms control. In many cases these topics are situated in a national or regional context, and they often bridge several of themes noted in the other categories.

The faculty in the Department have developed a research agenda which encompasses the most important and relevant themes of international security and defense. They are virtually all active researchers with great experience in their areas of topics of choice and with an emphasis upon analysis and policy. The research is increasingly supported by reimbursable funding. The results of the research is provided to sponsors through reports and briefings, and is often made available to a larger public through the publication of scholarly articles and books.

FY95 REIMBURSABLE PROGRAM

Department of National Security Affairs

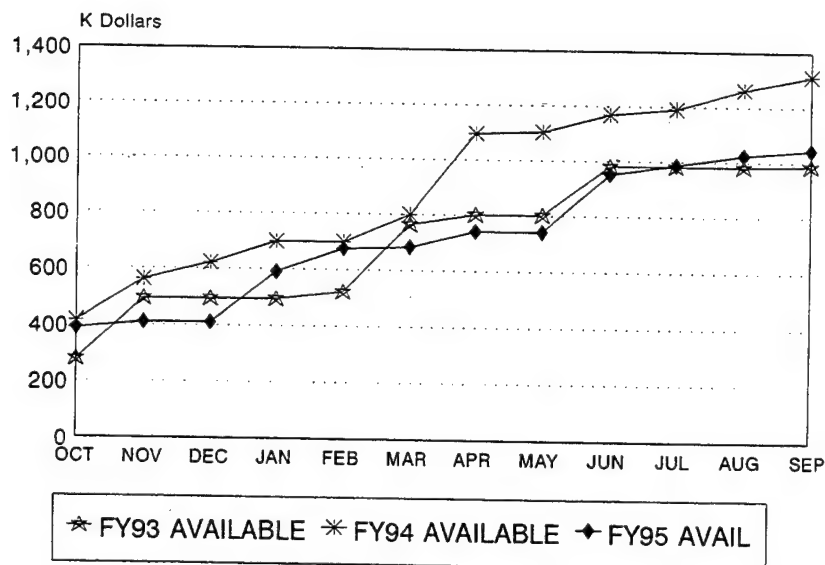


Figure 1. Reimbursable Funds Available by Fiscal Year.

This graph shows the amount of reimbursable funding available to the department. Dollar amounts include research and academic reimbursable activities.

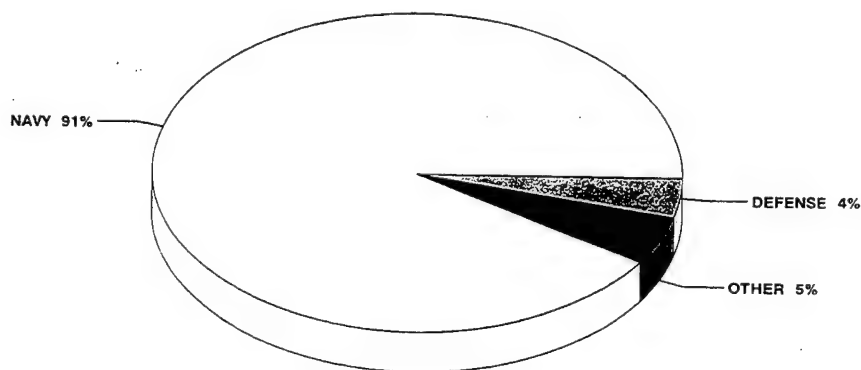


Figure 2. FY95 Reimbursable Sponsor Profile.

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NAVAL POWER AND POLITICS AFTER THE COLD WAR

Jan S. Breemer, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this research was to examine the implications of the end of the Cold War and the consequent demise of the Soviet naval threat for the "organizational essence" of blue water naval power.

SUMMARY: The research explored the implications of the "end of naval strategy" for U.S. and European naval forces that have traditionally identified their organizational essence with open ocean roles and missions. Previous research had focused in particular on the consequences of post-Cold War oceanic security for U.S. naval forces. The current effort extended the findings of this research to an examination of the future roles and missions of other, mainly European, so-called blue water fleets. In addition, the research began to explore the question whether the apparent seesaw change in the uses and usefulness of naval power in the Euro-Atlantic region, i.e. mainly NATO, was to be expected elsewhere in the world, notably the Asia-Pacific region, as well. It has been tentatively concluded that the latter is not the case.

PUBLICATIONS:

Breemer, J.S., "Home from the Sea: Have We Entered a New Era of Maritime Strategic Thinking?," Chapter 1 in Maritime Forces in Global Security, Ann L. Griffiths and Peter T. Haydon, Eds., Dalhousie University, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Halifax, N.S., Canada, pp. 27-36, 1995.

Breemer, J.S., "Breaking the Surface," Jane's Navy International, Vol. 100, No. 6, pp. 20-27, November-December 1995.

Breemer, J.S., "European Naval Power after the Cold War: Some Not So Common Interests and Risks," Chapter 4 in The Role of European Naval Forces after the Cold War, Gert de Nooy and Marion Lijmbach, Eds., Kluwer Law International, The Hague, The Netherlands, pp. 55-72, forthcoming March 1996.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Breemer, J.S., "European Naval Power after the Cold War: Some Not So Common Interests and Risks," Conference on "The Role of European Naval Forces after the Cold War," The Hague, The Netherlands, 19 October 1995.

Breemer, J.S., "Sea Power in the New Century," keynote address at conference on "Sea Power in the New Century," Sydney, Australia, 22 November 1995.

THESES DIRECTED:

Bolich, H.P., LCDR, USN, "Influencing the Land Campaign...from the Sea: The Interaction of Armies and Navies in the American Revolutionary War," Master's Thesis, March 1995.

Lluy, P.A., LT, USN, "Mine Warfare: An Old Threat Presents New Challenges for NATO's Post-Cold War Navies," Master's Thesis, December 1995.

OTHER:

"Sea Power in the Next Century" will be published in the Journal of the Australian Naval Institute. "Stealth from the Sea: The U.S. Submarine Fleet in the Next Century" is scheduled for publication in the March 1996 issue of Maritime Patrol Aviation.

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DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Battlespace Environments, Conventional Weapons, Sensors, Surface/Under Surface Vehicles-Ships and Watercraft

KEYWORDS: U.S. Navy, Naval Strategy, Submarines, NATO

POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND SECURITY ISSUES IN PORTUGAL

Thomas C. Bruneau, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Luso-American Development Foundation

OBJECTIVE: The goals of this project were: first, to conduct a public opinion survey in Portugal in order to evaluate the political attitudes and behavior of the population some twenty years after the Revolution of 25 April 1974; second, to analyze the changing roles of Portugal and Spain in NATO and their bilateral relationships in security matters with the U.S.

SUMMARY: First, Portugal is an excellent case study of a country which has undergone tremendous political change in a short period of time. Thomas Bruneau and Dr. Mario Bacalhau met in 1973, one year before the Revolution, and collaborated in two public opinion surveys (1978 & 1984) and several publications. In 1993 they obtained a grant from the Luso-American Development Foundation to conduct another survey, and, in 1994, they received support from the Foundation to publish a book on the results. Second, the two new Iberian democracies of Portugal and Spain have transformed their roles in NATO, in the European Security and Defense framework, and their relationships with the U.S. in security issues. Due to both basing concerns and their role in the European Union and European security organizations, these two countries are very important for the U.S. The research was initiated in 1992 -93 with support from the Naval Postgraduate School and OASD. In 1995 no new funding was requested or received, but Professor Bruneau continues to collect information through interviews in Washington, D.C. and to publish.

PUBLICATIONS:

Bruneau, T.C., and Bacalhau, M., Atitudes, Opinões e Comportamentos Políticos dos Portugueses: 1973 - 1993, (Lisbon: Edicoes Heptagono) 1995.

Bruneau, T.C., "Portugal," in Encyclopedia of Democracy, 1995.

Bruneau, T.C., "The Role of the Provisional Governments in the Transition to Democracy," in Juan Linz and Yossi Shain, eds. Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions, (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1995.

Bruneau, T.C., "Portugal's Defense Structures and NATO," in Thomas-Durell Young, ed., Restructuring Alliance and National Command Structures in NATO (Carlisle Barracks: Strategic Studies Institute), forthcoming in 1996.

OTHER:

Chaired and acted as Discussant on Panel on "Political Culture and Political Institutions" at the conference of the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NC, 29-30 September 1995.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Political Attitudes)

KEYWORDS: Portugal, democratization, regime transition

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN BURMA, 1948-1974

Mary P. Callahan, Assistant Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: To conduct preliminary research to ascertain the availability of documentary and other sources for an ongoing project to explain the origins of the uniquely leftist, durable and isolationist military government of postwar Burma. This is part of an ongoing project to explain these apparent anomalies by looking at the historical development of the Burmese military and its place inside Burmese society over the 1945-1974 period.

SUMMARY: Inquiries were made in Burma (November 195) at the Defense Services Historical Research Institute, the National Archives, the Defence Services Academy, the National Defence College regarding the feasibility of the above project. The responses were universally encouraging from officials at each of these repositories.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Burma, relations

BURMA'S MILITARY RULERS AFTER SEVEN YEARS IN OFFICE

Mary P. Callahan, Assistant Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: To evaluate the progress of the ruling junta in Burma in terms of economic, political and security developments.

SUMMARY: Research was conducted in Burma on current political, economic and security developments in the country. A wide range of business owners, military officers, and government officials were interviewed on two main issues: first, the status and progress of the marketization policy first put into place in 1989, and second, the rumors that China is building a naval base on a Burmese island in the Bay of Bengal.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Burma, politics

THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION

Roman Laba, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Unfunded

OBJECTIVE: To present an explanation of why the Soviet Union fell apart.

SUMMARY: Other explanations of the end of the Soviet Union, such as democratization, transition to free markets, nonproliferation have failed in explaining why the Soviet Union collapsed. They also have not succeeded in predicting Russian behavior since 1991. An ethno-national interpretation, as presented in this research, explains the Soviet collapse more comprehensively and specifically explains why Russia has retreated from democracy and the free market since 1991 and why Russia is likely to engage in increasingly aggressive behavior towards its neighbors. The research therefore is directed at the assumptions underlying U.S. and NATO security policy.

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PUBLICATION:

Laba, R., "How Yeltsin's Exploitation of Ethnic Nationalism Brought Down an Empire," Transition (Prague), Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 5-14, to appear in January 1996.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Laba, R., "Disintegration: A Comparison of Weimar Germany and the Soviet Union," University of California at Santa Cruz, 18-19 May 1995.

Laba, R., "The End of the Soviet Union: An Ethno-National Interpretation."

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Soviet Union, ethnicity, Russian nationalities

THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN CONFLICT

Roman Laba, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Unfunded

OBJECTIVE: To explain the deeper underlying causes of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict through the concepts of political geography. The security significance is that Ukraine is the primary obstacle to the stated Russian goal of a political-military and economic entity out of the disintegrated Soviet Union. Stated U.S. foreign policy objectives are to further the independence of the newly-independent states, including Ukraine.

SUMMARY: The project investigates the overlapping origins and nature of the Russian and Ukrainian ethno-national borders and compares these to the overlapping national myths. The project makes a contribution to the knowledge of how the borders between Ukraine and Russia arose mostly in 1918, but as late as 1954.

PUBLICATION:

Laba, R., "The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict: State, Nation, and Identity," European Security, Vol. 4, No. 3, Autumn 1995.

THESIS DIRECTED:

Kobasa, A.I., "A Strategic-Military Analysis of the Ukrainian Armed Forces," Master's Thesis, December 1995.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

KEYWORDS: Foreign policy, Russian politics, Ukrainian politics, US foreign policy

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DILEMMAS OF STATES: ISLAMICISM, POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI 'END-GAME'

Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: United States Institute of Peace

OBJECTIVE: To conceptualize how the end of the Arab-Israel conflict likely will impact domestic Arab politics in the Levant.

SUMMARY: This project linked both theoretically and empirically the three most important political phenomena in the post-Cold War Levant: Islamism (Islamic fundamentalism), political liberalization, and the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations. The geographical focus was on Jordan, the West Bank/Gaza Strip, and Syria. The major finding was that the inherent tensions between the containment of Islamism, political liberalization, and the participation in a negotiated settlement with Israel restrict regimes to the pursuit of (at most) two of these policy goals. The resulting strategic choices have had - and will continue to have - a profound impact both on the stability of the settlement with Israel and on the prospects for sustainable political liberalization - even democratization - in the Arab Levant. The project began in 1993 and concluded in 1995. It contained both substantial fieldwork in the Middle East and research done in this country.

PUBLICATIONS:

Robinson, G.E., "Building a Palestinian State; Authority in an Incomplete Revolution," Indiana University Press, forthcoming.

Robinson, G.E., "The Palestinians" in Peter Sluglett and Mirian Farouk-Sluglett, The London Times Guide to the Middle East, forthcoming.

Robinson, G.E., "The Islamist Movement in Jordan under Liberalization" in Ahmad Moussalli, Islamist Movements in the Middle East, University Press of Florida, forthcoming.

OTHER:

Glenn E. Robinson, "Defensive Democratization in Jordan," currently under review at The International Journal of Middle East Studies.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other (International Stability)(Regionalism)

KEYWORDS: Jordan, Syria, Palestinians, PLO, Islamic Fundamentalism

AFTER THE PEACE: POLITICAL STABILITY IN SYRIA AND JORDAN

Glenn E. Robinson, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: This project followed logically from the USIP project described above, and tried to gauge the domestic political ramifications in Jordan and Syria of the conclusions of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Cold war.

SUMMARY: What were the likely internal dynamics that would be unleashed by the dramatically changed regional circumstances? What impact would new social movements have on US policy objectives in the Levant? As a one-quarter project, a principal aim was to accomplish the groundwork necessary to explore more fruitfully these issues with

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reimbursable funds. To that end, OSD awarded me a \$70,000 research grant in October 1995 to pursue this topic in 1996. Thus, this project is on-going.

OTHER:

The initial quarter allowed me to finish work on two manuscripts on Jordan cited above ("Defensive Democratization..." and "The Islamist Movement...") as well as begin a manuscript on Syria. Completion of the Syria piece and other publications from this project will be undertaken during the OSD-funded quarters during 1996.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Jordan, Syria

NUCLEAR COOPERATION BETWEEN BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA: A MODEL FOR NONPROLIFERATION?

Scott D. Tollefson, Assistant Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsors: Naval Information Warfare Activity and
USAF Institute for National Security Studies

OBJECTIVE: Assess the significance of Brazilian-Argentine nuclear cooperation for U.S. counter-proliferation policy.

SUMMARY: The research (a) assessed the significance of nuclear cooperation between Argentina and Brazil; (b) analyzed the applicability of the Argentine-Brazilian case to nuclear proliferation in other regions; and (c) examined the implications of the findings for U.S. counter-proliferation policy.

PUBLICATIONS:

Tollefson, S.D., "Brazil: International Relations," in Handbook of Latin American Studies/Social Sciences, Vol. 55 (Austin: University of Texas Press), forthcoming.

Tollefson, S.D., "Brazil: Science and Technology," chapter 6 in Brazil: A Country Study (Area Handbook Series), U.S. Government Printing Office, forthcoming. Contributor to chapter by Simon Schwartzman.

Tollefson, S.D., "Brazil: National Security," chapter 5 in Brazil: A Country Study (Area Handbook Series), U.S. Government Printing Office, forthcoming.

Tollefson, S.D., "Democratization, Civil-Military Relations, and National Security Policy in Brazil," Second BRASA Conference Proceedings, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, pp. 368-382, 11-13 May 1995.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Tollefson, S.D., "Nuclear Cooperation Between Argentina and Brazil," Paper presented at the USAF Institute for National Security Studies, U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, CO, 3 November 1995.

Tollefson, S.D., "Civil-Military Relations in Brazil: The Myth of Tutelary Democracy," the 1995 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC, 30 September 1995.

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Tollefson, S.D., "Democratization, Civil-Military Relations, and National Security Policy in Brazil," Second Annual Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA) Conference, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, 11-13 May 1995.

Tollefson, S.D., "Tutelar Democracy in Brazil?," National Defense University, Washington, DC, 29 September 1995.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Argentina, Brazil, nuclear proliferation

OVERSEAS PRESENCE

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School (Institute for Joint Warfare Analysis)

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of the overseas presence aspects of Joint Warfare Analysis, with a view to more effective teaching and research.

SUMMARY: The research effort in 1995 emphasized the analysis of primary sources regarding international security trends relevant to U.S. overseas military presence. This included an examination of historical patterns of U.S. deployments and activities, an assessment of the future international security environment and potential changes in the nature of warfare, economic and political constraints on U.S. military capabilities, and the grand strategy choices that may face the United States in the future.

PUBLICATION:

Yost, D.S., "The Future of U.S. Overseas Presence," Joint Force Quarterly, no. 8 (Summer 1995), pp. 70-82. (Joint Force Quarterly is published for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff by the Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington, D.C.)

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Overseas presence

EUROPE AND INFORMATION WARFARE

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of European security policy developments, especially with regard to the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." This includes matters such as doctrine, education and training, system development, and technology transfer policy in major NATO European governments, military organizations, and industrial establishments.

SUMMARY: Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. This research effort has emphasized the analysis of primary sources from publications in NATO Europe regarding the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." A

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

broad definition of "information warfare" has been utilized, in order to encompass means to exploit information systems, to attack those of adversaries, and to protect one's own and those of allies.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Information warfare strategy, Europe, France, NATO

FRANCE, EUROPEAN SECURITY, AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Office of the Secretary of Defense

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of European security policy developments, especially with regard to France and the "Revolution in Military Affairs." This includes matters such as doctrine, system development, and technology policy in France and other major NATO European governments, military organizations, and industrial establishments.

SUMMARY: Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. The key new technologies at the current juncture include information systems to gather, process, and disseminate data; extended-range, advanced conventional munitions; and simulations techniques to prepare and train forces and to develop new types of capabilities and operational concepts. The issues under investigation in this project also include the future of nuclear deterrence, conventional deterrence and force planning, possible NATO expansion, missile defense, Combined Joint Task Forces, developments in Russia and Ukraine, Mediterranean and North African security, and European security and defense identity.

PUBLICATIONS:

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DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Strategy, Europe, France, NATO

1995

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